B 423 B 426 [437 cont.]
land acquired by clearing it. The sale of lands never occurs among this people and, according to Batak conception, it may not be sold either to members of the family or to strangers. Mortgaging, however, occurs frequently.

d. On the Ambonese Islands

A 565 423 [186]
Land tenure in these areas deserves closer attention. One remark before proceeding. The population on Ambon is divided into two classes, the so-called orang negari, the negari, dwellers, and the orang bebes, mardika, or orang borger, the former mardijkers, the burghers. The burghers are actually strangers. They are excluded from all rights to the lands; therefore, what we have to say about land tenure only concerns the negari population. We see here that the political unit is the village, the negari, in contrast to the Minahasa, the Padang Highlands, and the Batak lands, where it is made up of an aggregation of villages. The population of a negari is divided into dati = taxpaying units, families [families] and kin groups [geslachten]. This [438] situation existed in former times.
A 651 636 565
The East India Company adopted this division and maintained the taxation of the dati, which had the obligation of cultivating cloves. The dati is thus the taxpaying element. Each negari has a fixed number of dati. In 1865 there were 1,264 of them on Ambon. Each dati has a chief, the kapala dati, whose office is hereditary and who enjoys certain privileges. The members of the dati are called anak dati or tulong dati. They belong to the dati by birth. No one can transfer to another dati; hence it can become very large through births, or it can die out completely, like a family among us.

A 423 621 311
The institution of the dati is connected with land tenure. Each negari has its own territory, which has definite boundaries. All the lands are the property of the negari within whose boundaries they lie, as in the Minahasa. Among the lands

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167 get caught, they are turned over to the police.
656 And there are no large boats here to sail beyond
505 islands farther away than Ceram, so it is hard for them to sneak away. The people in Asilulu do have large boats and those people are able to sail all over. Thus a few can leave for their favorite occupation, that of being seaman.

167 Before they left the kampong most of the sea-
829 men travelers from this community had ideas of
203 great crowds and many things to see in the outside
521 world. This they obtained from those few people who had returned. Many of the young men are anxious to see the world. For example, my assistant has been talking with the hadji who was in the United States and wants very much to become a seaman and see the United States too. Evidently there is a great deal of attention paid to those who return, and the wandering spirit here is very strong.

Those who return slide back into the old way of life. The assistant says that they often look around and say that they do not know why they ever came back to such a dump after living in big cities. Thus it seems that the hadji would like to leave again, but how?

Those who have returned to the kampong relate the usual tales about the outside world. There is much more to see, much excitement, good clothes, and especially "you act like a real gentleman all the time." You don't go off into the woods and chop sago. You dress well every day.

The villagers evidently admire the chance of their townmates to go away.

186 The young people are avid to hear news of the
184 outside world. Thus I see that these Mohammedans are really more adventurous than the Christians, who are rather namby-pamby home boys who serve the Dutch in the army and want to come back home later and stay there.

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829 side world. Their world has been the Dutch world.
178 Later on, a smart young boy burst out that in school he always learned about Holland although it was small and unimportant. Why did they not learn about other countries? This is clearly a weakness of the Christian community here. They are still "schutters" [marksmen] for the Dutch. I doubt if they know as much about international matters as the Buginese. They have been educated and trained, but only to think with and as the Dutch.

There have been few changes in the outlook of
[181] the kampong on the world at large in the last fifty years. Even the last war left them provincial. (Maybe that is a good title for the Ambonese section, "The Land of Provincialism." It is too clumsy, but nevertheless in line.)

Since everyone has been in school, they are all clear about the position of Ambon in Indonesia. In fact they are very good on local geography. In contrast, they are very poor on world geography. Could this be the Dutch again, keeping the world out?

Although the three men here (obviously schooled, especially one, a firebrand; the assistant is the dumbest) knew about the population of Indonesia, they said that very few in the kampong knew this. They are surprisingly good on ranking the national populations of the world, but were impressed that Indonesia is number eight in the world. They never thought of it like that. The bright one corrected me on the figures connected with Dutch and Japanese populations in the prewar period. He said they were twelve million and ninety million. I am sure he is wrong, but why argue?

• 186 They say that there is no boasting in regard to locality and I think he is right. It is simply absent here. They never would think of "pulling a Brooklyn."

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000 a Brooklyn."

[578] 621 608 As above, Eri is said to be the old-time enemy and a mountain kampong is this kampong's pela partner. Incidentally, the festa negri is to "bikin pela panas" (that is, to renew pela bonds) and all pela partners attend. I must check to see if this is exactly right. They seem to have no special feelings against any group, except for [563] the economic drive which expelled the one poor Chinese. As far as I can see there is very little [186] dissatisfaction in the village. The people are too provincial to see that the place is a dump.

769 782 775 The role of ancestor worship is still very strong. In discussing this we had a long talk on the ancestor cult. The smart man said that most of the folk believe in ancestral spirits. They are supposed to come and do certain things in the area and the whole kampong goes to the negri lama on great occasions to ask for their help. [526] They believe that the ancestors hear them. Thus if they have a big paddle race (boat crews) they go to such a spot and implore the help of their ancestors. This is true for other big events. But evidently they do not do this individually. No personal pilgrimages. There are lots of [773] stories about the ancestors and there are stories about the great founder ancestors who came from Celebes. There is no sky descent here. The assistant has collected a lot of stories written down by a teacher in Eri. He will copy them for me.

I am impressed at the way the smart man insisted that the ancestor cult is still very strong. My assistant acted skeptical but admitted it. I must get more about this.

769 197 178 Regarding the ancestor cult, the smart man made a good remark and applied it to the whole question of how adat is kept much better in Hitu than here

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202 people to do the negri work, etc. They have a
624 small gong which they beat while they go around
making such announcements. The police inspector
683 talked a lot and tried to explain that local
politics are free unless anyone insults a party,
a person, etc. It is evident that the old laws
still hold here. And he approves of them. I
said that in Holland, the United States, etc.,
the heart of politics is to freely insult one's
opponents. He was nonplused. He talked a lot
of nonsense. He heard that in Saparua, posters
there are informing the people and telling them
to get out from under the Dutch, referring to
the latter as "tahi Belanda" [Dutch excrement].
The policeman said that this was not nice and
if they went too far they would have to take ac-
tion as this was against the law that says one
may not insult anyone!

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186 In the afternoon, in Amahusu, my assistant
668 said that the Amboneses feel themselves as Indo-
nesians, that's all. I get the idea that youth
here are very strong for RIS. Tonight I heard
a lad at the front of the hotel singing "merdeka,
tetap merdeka." [free, always free].

115 Amahusu: The name of my assistant is Johan
Musila.

829 There is no evidence of an inferiority complex
167 at the kampong level here. The thing which im-
521 presses my assistant, (and a man from Naku used
the same word) is that returners say that the
outside world is more advanced (madju) than Ambon.

There are returners whose stories get better as
they are retold again and again. The locals spot
this and depreciate such stories. Musila says it
is hard to put much over on the local lads because
they have been to school!

000 As far as I can see the relation between this

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000 left except in the memory of some of the people.

535 I asked if the tjakalele war dance, led by a
178 war leader, a kapitan, might not be a kind of
292 "keeping up the war spirit" rite. He said perhaps. He added that the tjakalele was danced here until 1935 and that there are still plenty of people who could do it although the old costumes were lost in the Japanese time and will probably not be replaced nor the dance ever done again.

However, an Amahusu group did it on the entry of the last resident of Amboina, Jansen, in 1935. This was the last time it was done here. It is still done in this area and there are costumes in many of the negri here, especially in the hills, for example in Soya. Also in Hatalai.

341 There was a baileo here until 1938. It was not repaired and fell apart. They might like to build another, but that would cost a considerable amount. These baileo, as the Radja of Tulehu and his assistant describe them, are long, and empty, with low walls and a door. They were always kept closed except at infrequent, big occasions.

212 Musila has a book of handwritten legends he got from a teacher in Eri. He will write out the stories for me.

691 The only kind of legal cases that causes in-
423 tense feeling in Ambon is one over land boundaries. The court is filled with them. There is a case up at the present time. There are demarcation signs, and marks of land boundaries everywhere. There are markers in the hills. But still they have disputes.

609 To be "foreign" means to be non-Indonesian.
186 This is what Musila says. He says that all non-Indonesians are certainly strangers.

000 In general one can say that except for the

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000 into maximum circulation.

366 There is no market place here and there are no
443 traveling traders. There are no large boats that
505 sail to distant ports. By contrast, Asilulu, on
184 the northwest coast, has large praus which bring much news from Java and other islands.

829 Only a very few people here know anything
186 about international affairs. Most men are interested in Indonesia, especially now. I get the
621 impression that Indonesia is really as far as
521 their thoughts go in Ambon. They are very pro-
562 vincial. The Radja says that in the evening on the streets and in the center of the kampong there is some talk but most of the political talk goes on in the houses (careful?). The women have no interest in such talk of politics. Even though they have gone to school they have none. This is at least true of the Mohammedans.

521 There is considerable interest now in East
668 Indonesian politics and in the Round Table Con-
562 ference. It is hot and is on everyone's lips.
648 This, however, does not include the women. The
622 Dutch I think will try hard to keep at least Ambon colonial. But I see signs of real unrest. Even the Radja shows it. He is sore about the Dutch "dividing and ruling" in Ambon (but this is also because they reduced the prestige and power of the radja).

668 Yesterday when the Radja said that he was busy
622 with political meetings, the police commander
625 made, I think, an error. He said, "Oh, politics, eh? Now what do you mean by politics? Take it easy." And so on. This was probably just the wrong thing, that is, trying to treat some of these people like children when they are just getting to feel big. If I were the Radja I would not like the way that police commander treated me. They are convinced that Indonesia is under-

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668 developed. They simply can't get over their
622 paternalism. Nothing will teach them. Today
625 the Radja said, "Remember how the police said
[212] we couldn't have freedom because we are so illiterate?" This hurt, evidently. I said, perhaps dangerously, that when the United States became free it was perhaps seventy per cent illiterate and that when Holland got out from under Spain it was even more so.

829 In general outlook there has not been much
178 change in the last fifty years on the part of the
186 people living in Tulehu except in one very important way. The war and especially the recent Indonesian troubles have caused an unprecedented interest in things Indonesian. They have had trouble but it has forced them to open their doors a bit wider.

823 Geographical knowledge does not extend very far.
439 They all know about the negri, though relatively
484 few of them are really clear on the whole of Hitu. They do know in which direction the other negri are and they know the nearby ones very well. Leitimor is foreign to most of them and even the assistant was not clear as to the location of Soya. In fact they know far more about Ceram and Saparua than they do about Leitimor as their trade and travel tend to run to the former and seldom to the latter. They know the general locations of the various Indonesian islands, but not perhaps even most of them. They are not too clear on the relative size of these islands, however. The world at large is a closed book. This is beyond them.

621 There is no boasting about the home town here.
186 This I find to be true in all the areas so far.

574 I asked about the other kampongs, especially
621 Waai. The Radja said that he had plenty of acquaintances there but that they were really not

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000 inferior.

464 The uneducated folk can only be farmers and fishers, etc. But the educated people here have a hard time getting good jobs as they are far from the city and there are not many white-collar positions. But at least they have hope and my guess is that if they got the chance plenty of them here would leave.

[166] Those who get their education outside of the village usually do not come back. They get jobs elsewhere. Why come back to the dump? Few do.

874 There is no special training for priests,
868 tradesmen, artisans, etc. The gurus, for example,
875 learn by themselves. Often it seems that they just happen to have a few religious books in the house and read up in them. Often they learn from their fathers.

769 The role of ancestor worship and the glorifi-
527 cation of the village of Tulehu is quite impor-
614 tant. There are ancestors of the negri and to
621 some extent the negri feasts are for them.
778 There are no ancestor feasts for the soa as such, but the aroha feast is done by families within the soa. In Gani's house there are a number of plates, etc., from the ancestors. Not every family in a fam has them. What it evidently comes to is that this feast is celebrated in the houses though it has reference to the soa ancestors. Thus evidently there are fam soa, and family or lineage distinctions. Some soa have a lot of members and rumah mata (this means household; cf. rumah mata radja, the radja's compound), others have only a few. Thus the largest is Lating (hundreds), then Wakang, Ei, Moni, etc. Small soa are, for example, Wani with about nineteen
621 and Pari with about ten. In Tulehu there are no
186 feelings of inferiority concerning the status of
369 the village really, except that there is a desire

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186 to go to livelier and more up-to-date places. In
369 fact, in Hitu, Tulehu is rather like the "big
621 town," and it is also traditionally the center of the big radja.

578 There seems to have been no traditional enemy
609 such as Eri was of Amahusu.

There are quite a few legends about the past
773 and the elders like to tell them in the evening.
[887] They are largely concerned with the history of the place and seem to have lots of references as to why Tulehu became Mohammedan and some of the other kampongs did not, etc. For example, one ran that when the Portuguese appeared in ships off Tulehu the Moyang (ancestor cult note) caused a miracle. They made the negri appear to the Portuguese like a heap of stone and the Portuguese moved on to Waai, thus saving Tulehu from possible Christianization. Another story was that the Radja of Hitu, envious of Halong's great mosque whose spire cast a shadow in the setting sun that reached to Hitu, told the Portuguese to convert them and thus more or less betrayed them. The Portuguese came and converted Halong (which was Mohammedan before) and leveled the mosque. As punishment the Radja of Hitu was turned into a pig.

423 Ideas concerned with boundaries are very
621 definite here. There was a war with knives and
578 spears in 1935 between Tial and Tengah-Tengah over the boundary line and one man was killed on each side. The border between Waai and Tulehu is a stream. In the mountains there is empty land in Hitu and in some places no markers. This is a no man's land. However, watch is kept to see that the negri on the other side of the mountains does not try to encroach too much on this no man's land.

609 Anyone coming from an area other than Ambon
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609 is considered a bit alien. They can be spotted
●186 easily. However, there is a growing feeling of Indonesian nationality.

614 I went over the soa again, and he says that
778 his soa alone, Moni, is not from Amantawari (as
202 are all others except Wakang) or Eruwakang (as
574 is Wakang). They came originally from Haruku, and first settled at Tunghitu, near Paso. When they are called to come to the negri or other feasts, they have a long way to travel. They can hear the call, however, and do come. Thus his soa seems to be a bit off the line and looks to some negri lama far off where their ancestors are.

778 Whenever someone is about to take an impor-
782 tant step he goes to the negri lama to pray and
614 to tell his ancestors. Thus before they go to
769 Mecca they tell their ancestors about it at the
182 negri lama (this is a wonderful mixture). They also go there to ask for favors. He says that the Wakang is the only soa with a totem.

844 There are two midwives in town. They are
852 called dukun. They stay with the child until the seventh day when the child is taken to touch the ground. They have a feast when the first hair is cut and if the family is rich this would be a large one. The local name for this feast is maibiang.

756 There are also medicine men called paleo,
881 with the accent on the e. There are several in
304 the kampong. This is part time work. They give medicines and also charms and are thus real medicine men. They perform circumcision rites at about the age of twelve for boys only usually and in groups. If the boys come from rich fami-
[231] lies there may be a big feast with goat meat.
The tukang sunat is always from soa Aser (the
304 same as the tuan tanah). In circumcision a

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789 the asker must pay something for the information,
791 and this gift is called hadia. Gani tells all of this quite seriously.

829 Then we went on to the schedule, with the imeum
186 listening in. He would always bring up agama rules and seemed scandalized at hearing of Minangkabau matrilineal practices and the pots on the Buginese and Makassarese mosques. Prohibited.

197 In Tulehu one hundred per cent of the popula-
191 tion can speak the local language. The only
178 exceptions are the adult immigrant Javans,
563 Butonese, Chinese, and Arabs. The children of these learn the local language too. About sixty per cent speak Malay and everyone under thirty years of age can do so. Fifty years ago very few people here could speak Malay. The school seems to be the main reason for this change.

The only people who can speak Dutch are the Radja, three gurus, and two soldiers. This totals six. I can see that the Radja is not too good at it. The hadji sailor and the four sailors who lived before in Singapore, making five in all, can speak English.

563 There was one Arab family here and there are
871 about ten who attended the Arab school which was set up until the teacher, an Arab, died. It was called "Sekolah Medras." Now, if one wants to learn Arabic, he must go to the Arab school in Ambon. There are five individuals from Tulehu now. Later on they become gurus.

212 Sixty per cent of the people in Tulehu can read and write Malay. Only six can read Dutch. Only about forty can read and write Arabic. One hundred per cent of the population, male and female, can read the Koran. Only about ten, however, can understand its meaning. However, Gani insists that one hundred per cent can read

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583 he would agree to give one child to the wife's
611 family. It is notable that they have the same
851 word for this as the people who live in Elpa-
puti. I think the Ambonese who came to Elpa-
C puti gave the name to the practice there as it
583 came closest to the anak harta stuff that they
611 knew in Ambon. Of course, the Elpaputi system
851 is more complex. The Radja of Elpaputi says
that the term is a new one. And this is impor-
tant: if a couple advises the government when
they get married and everything is in order,
they may arrange to have all the children fol-
low the mother and take her name. The reasons
may be stated as those of mere preference, or
fear of the mother's family dying out, or per-
haps the mother's family may be richer than the
father's. This last reason I supplied and he
agreed, though not as if to say that it was a
more important one. He kept saying that it is
a "matter of what pleases them." In this type
of marriage the bride price is paid also. Thus
it is not really ambil anak in a full sense.
It is an arrangement with mutual consent.

A Regarding the Ambonese in general: They are
181 a rather bold and not so polite lot as one finds
157 in most of Indonesia. They seem a bit ill at
186 ease and complain a lot. They appear to be
envious of others who have more possessions
than they. They are rough and noisy. They are
bluff and direct and a bit awkward. Every once
in a while one is surprised at their kindness
and consideration, however, and plenty, especi-
ally the older ones, are very polite. I get the
impression that they are easily offended. In
fact, one must be careful in this respect as
they seem to be easily angered and short tempered.
I read about fights and killings when they get
drunk and I can believe it. Another thing is

181 their great overestimation of their little is-
186 land. They could easily turn into oppressors of
157 other Indonesians, and the Dutch have trained them well. I also think that their provincialism, which comes out not only in seeing Ambon as the center of things but also in their endless talk of local figures and politics which are really unimportant to anyone outside, is typically Dutch. The Dutch are like Texans and I must admit like many, but not so great a percentage of, Americans who think in small-town terms. I think of the book title about the Holland town (is it Couperus?) "Small Souls." I think that they will have a hard time in Indonesia because they already have a bad reputation as Dutch
[668] lackeys. Gani told me, however, that the report is that at a big meeting in a movie theater here many people carried Republic of Indonesia flags. Things are stirring, and of course PTB is sold out, as the Dutch have agreed that all Indonesia except New Guinea will go with the RIS.

Ambon: I went to Tulehu Sunday but had no
217 chance to work because the Radja had guests, and
157 I went to lunch and brought them back to [Ambon?]. I met one Dutch woman, Mrs. Krigsman, the wife of an architect in Makassar. She is the head of the libraries in East Indonesia. There is another Ambonese woman starting a library in Ambon again, and there was an Ambonese woman who was working in the post office. The library woman was originally from Tiouw in Saparua although she spent four years in Java and then went to Europe where she studied in Holland and Switzerland. She is fifty-seven, a spinster, and must have been goodlooking in a Caucasian way. She is big too, and thus again like the Saparua type. These Ambonese women who get educated are very domineering. She was disgusted with Ambon on her return, saying that it is dirty, run down, with

[i.e., the Ambonese --Analyst]

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648 would cause no more trouble. This pension
729 business is very important here as there are
[665] so many retired soldiers. This, however, is far more important to the Christians than to the Mohammedans, and this is a factor in the greater PTB membership among Christians.

829 Many people knew that Holland was small and
186 didn't like it very much, but they were afraid
208 to say anything. Formerly they felt that the Queen was their radja, whereas nowadays they do not think so. The pictures of the Queen in every government office are not impressive now. And none of the houses has such pictures. The Dutch were always felt as distant and it was observed that they acted superior. This is especially resented. And I see the Dutch making clumsy efforts to be democratic and chummy. Australian
[177] soldiers were here after the war, and the local people were much impressed by their mixing, playing with children, walking around the negri, and their generosity. The Dutch suffered by comparison. By and large the Dutch are certainly awkward.

829 Not much is known about world politics or
665 other countries yet. People are too much concerned with Ambon and Indonesian politics for the present. There are two kinds of nationalists here: Ambonese and Indonesian. Free discussion is possible here, but there are no street meetings. They do have meetings in Ambon. There is much talk going on in the houses but there are no real meetings. What happens is that all big candidates are well known, for example, Pupella. And the parties, especially, PIM, have leaders in each negri. That is, there is a kepala in each negri. He tells the people about the politics
665 and policies and rounds up votes. Thus they have a party organization with a leader in each negri.

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582 429 The people here now follow Mohammedan incest rules and the old taboos are largely out. For example, I note many fam endogamous marriages which never occur in Amahusu. I asked about cousin marriage, and at first thought I had something, as he pointed out a case of a man married to his mother's brother's daughter (anthropologists jump at the term). He said that this is allowed, but then went on to say that the father's sister's daughter is also allowed. And also the father's brother's daughter and the mother's sister's daughter! In fact, all cousins are allowed! In fact, he said they like close marriages, [422] because the harta and pusaka are kept in the family. Especially liked are marriages between a man and his father's brother's daughter, as then the property is kept close, and he also said something about wali. This means guardian, and it was either that they like it because her husband could also be her wali, or because he could not be her wali. I must ask about this, but my memory was that they like it because he could be her wali. Not only this, but half siblings may marry if they have the same mother but different fathers. This is taboo if they have the same father but different mothers. Here again he said it was because either the husband could or could not be her wali. With the rule of exogamy gone, the only taboo marriages are: siblings, niece, nephew, grandchildren, half siblings with the same father (this may well be merely because of the emphasis on male descent), and, amazing in this loose system, milk siblings. This last is really remote, but they are taboo.

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178 186 829 668 182 Amahusu: In the last fifty years there has been much change in the realm of political thinking. Formerly there was practically nothing

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178 taught in regard to politics, but now the people
186 even think in terms of Indonesia, though largely
829 Ambon-centered. They are not yet internationally
668 minded. The idea of independent units of negri
182 is well rooted here. There is no thought yet of uniting them into larger units. And they are all equal, large or small. They know very well
[798] that as Christians they are going to be swamped in Indonesia, and they think Mohammedans, after years of being kicked around by the Christian majority here, are looking forward to the day when they will be of a majority in a united
[665] Indonesia. So far, however, there has been no attempt to form a Christian or a Mohammedan party.

648 The people here knew little about the details
829 of colonial government before. Even now they do
177 not talk about the abuses of the old colonial government, as do, for example, the Javans.

The feeling in prewar days was that Holland was the motherland, even though they knew it was small and poor (they noticed how Holland milked Indonesia). The Queen was felt to be their Queen. Religion held in common with Holland was a terrific bond, especially as the rest of Indonesia was mainly Mohammedan. I get the idea, however, that Ambon never thought much of the rest of Indonesia. The people here say, "We must never forget that the Dutch educated us." It is almost pathetic how often they repeat this. Perhaps here is a lesson for the Dutch on the value of education in keeping a colony. Also, the people here really like the Dutch. They see them as a bit snooty, but they like them. How different from Tulehu!

186 The Amahusu folk know very little about other
829 countries. They are too much concerned about local affairs to bother about such things. The

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186 829 whole world could blow up and they would argue about PTB.

798 668 182 Although the church never mixes in politics, it forms a tremendous bond between the Dutch and the Christian Ambonese.

779 The conservative religion makes for conservatism in politics automatically, and the terrific fact is that most of a free Indonesia would be Mohammedan and this makes for fear on the part of the Ambonese (as among the Christians in India today). This is especially true in Ambon, where the Christians rode high over the Mohammedans. Thus the very fact of their being Christian in a Mohammedan country makes for clinging to the Christian motherland, which always favored them against the Mohammedans.

665 729 578 No one speaks openly about politics. I think that most if not all of the young folk are PIM, but they are afraid to say so to the elders who are in large part pensioners. Therefore, the latter may think that everyone here is PTB. The young hide their thoughts to save the feelings of the elders, but there are two other reasons. One is that about eighty of the approximately one hundred-forty houses here are supported wholly or partly by military funds, either pension funds or salaries of soldiers. If the young people went against this, it would be biting the hand that feeds them. Another reason is grimmer. The young people know that the old soldiers are savage, and really fear bloodshed if they press too far. Thus it is somewhat like Napoleon's Old Guard, but there are shades of Kakean here, in which traitors had to be beheaded often by their own relatives. Perhaps I [702] exaggerate. And note: Amahusu is one of the most soldier-giving negri in all Ambon.

665 Although there is no local political leader-

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563 the soldier who brings home a Javenese wife.
581 This is why I see practically no Indos in Ambon. I asked why there were no marriages between the Dutch and the Ambonese (evidently not even sex). I asked if the Dutch didn't like Ambonese girls, [142] or vice versa (I wonder if it is because the [186] Ambonese are not pretty?), but he says that it may be because Ambonese girls are so attached to the local districts from which they come that they won't take a chance of having to go to Holland or elsewhere with Dutch husbands. Also, he says that they never have had very many Dutch in Ambon. This is probably true. There are not many in the administration, as the Great East is small and the Ambon officials covered a lot of territory. Also, there was no Dutch garrison needed, because Ambon was comprised of all soldiers anyway and these men police the whole of the Great East and their own island too. But
563 then, I think, unlike Flores and Timor, not even
551 the Portuguese intermarried very much in the old days. This is a very different situation from what happened in Malacca. But now I wonder. Can it be that the easy-marrying Portuguese married Ambonese women or at least had sexual relations with them, and this accounts for the Portuguese names? Gaspersz and others say that the Portuguese "gave us" names, but maybe this is a cover-up or even a lack of memory. Gaspersz himself I thought was an Indo, and this may be because of the Portuguese blood which has been kept in his line. This may have been kept relatively pure in the Radja's fam because of endogamy. I must look up the Portuguese records if any.

582 People get married here at ages ranging from
178 twenty to twenty-five for both partners, usually. Eighteen is the usually quoted minimum age, but there are a few cases where the partners have

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793 addition, the hadjis also exert much influence.

788 574 To make the hadj, a local pilgrim pays fl. 2000. There are many hadjis here. Everyone is anxious to go to Mecca, and this includes the women. The children too want to go. The hadjis are respected and are always invited to attend every feast. When one returns from Mecca he must stay secluded in his house for forty-four days. There he must receive all who come to visit and tell them about his trip and about Mecca.

771 186 829 The people here are very conservative in religious matters and think that the Mohammedan folk of other Indonesian areas (for example, Java) are no longer Mohammedan. However, the local folk are not fanatics.

796 562 527 782 [752] On Friday nearly all of the men here go to the mosque. No work is done on that day, because they fear accidents, e.g., tree falls. On other days only twenty to thirty attend the mosque, but most of the people pray in the houses. Many of them pray five times a day. The women do not pray so much, but on Friday about twenty to thirty of them gather for prayers at the gurus' houses.

[346] The langgar are used only during the month of Ramadan, for Koran readings.

871 794 There is no Mohammedan school like the one in Makassar, but all children go to the guru every day, for one to three years, in order to learn the Koran. This is called the "sekolah mengadji."

At the regular school there are two sessions: one from 8 to 10 in the morning and the other from 10 to 12 noon (two hours only!). Children who attend the second session go to the religious guru from 7 to 10; those who attend the first session go to the guru from 4 to 6 in the

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871 794 afternoon. If they wish, they may go to the guru both morning and afternoon.

875 465 Once a year each student gives the guru two and one-half kilograms of rice. This he sells at fl. 2.50. Thus, since each guru has fifty to one hundred students, he makes from fl. 125 to fl. 250 per year. In addition, they have other work.

779 521 ●186 All arguments are carried on within Mohammedanism and they know relatively little about other cults. There is considerable argument, especially when one person says that his guru says so and so and that is right, whereas another says that his guru gives a different interpretation and that is right. They know little about other cults and do not care about them.

178 764 [765] There have not been any major changes in attitude toward death and the dead during the last fifty years. Funerals are about the same; memory days are 3, 7, 9, 44, and 100 days (hari mati) after death. The corpse is bathed and wound in a white shroud which covers the face as well as the rest of the body. On such occasions all mosque men come and pray. The body must be buried within one day. The grave is the side chamber type, one and one-half meters deep. They heap stones or place a cement rectangular mound over the grave in addition to two stones (male or female). The side chamber is shut off by a wooden wall. Holy water is poured over the stones and the priest prays at the grave. There are no houses [562] built over new graves. Formerly, women placed a canopy of flowers over the grave. This is no longer done, although once a year in the middle of the month of Ramadan they go to the cemetery, clean the graves, and decorate them with flowers.

795 A (It is really piti-
[181] ful to see how religion is stupefying these people. Even the Javan guru, Tjokro, instead of being a healthy Mohammedan, turns out to be a Pentecostal. I suppose they couldn't run a school here if it were not Christian. The fiery young church youth leader who sits in occasionally here is the son of the Pentecostal kepala kewang. The son is Protestant, and they argue ceaselessly.

186 The people here know something about Mohammedanism although not too much. There is no comparative interest (but he did say that they hear about Buddhism, etc., in school. Maybe this is in regard to Indonesian history?). The returnees tell nothing about other religions. They probably stay Ambonese wherever they go.

178 764 292 There have evidently been few changes in burial practice in the last fifty years, although Musila does not know too much about this. They bathe the corpse and dress it up in clean clothes. The men are dressed in a black bolero (banian) with a white tutup underneath. Women are dressed either in a black church dress, or, much more often, in a colored dress with a long kebaya. Then the body is put in the coffin. It remains in the house only one day because there is no embalming. The coffin is kept open and the face remaines visible. Just before the coffin is nailed shut (Musila does this, as he is the kepala tukang of the negri), the guru leads in prayers and they all sing hymns. Then the coffin is taken to the grave and placed in a straight shaft. For three nights the relatives gather, sing hymns, talk, drink tea, and eat.

755 Then I really got something at last. If a person is sick they may call in a person from Eri or Silale or Latuhalat (evidently a male, but possibly a female too?) who can tell the

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538 They do not tell stories very much, even to the children.

527 Except for special occasions, the holidays are August 17 and 31, Lebaran, and Christmas.

829 There is some desire on the part of the young
186 folk to see other lands, but they are really
369 satisfied with the negri. There is not much
546 criticism as in Tulehu. Maybe this is because
481 they are so near the big town of Ambon. They can walk in to Ambon all the time. They go to the movies there and walk around. They like Malay movies especially. They also like cowboy movies. (A Javan boy in a beer place told me he was going to the movies. I asked him what movie he was going to, and he said cowboy.) Every evening one can see the people of Amahusu walking to Ambon. They may get home at 2 A.M. The bus fare is fl. 0.50.

721 There are still stories about head-hunting
266 but nothing about cannibalism. Also, there is
681 nothing about sacrifice or torture. There was no death punishment in law or adat.

283 Everyone can and does make rope from gemuti
335 fiber. They use it in place of nails in house building because nails are hard to get.

412 I saw a man using a hatchet to shape a curved timber (it looked like a boat strut) with great skill.

178 The young people do not care much about the
771 loss of old traits. There are a few who do, but
182 they are very few. Here again it is the alien religion that removes the charter from the old, and though the old ones would like to have the young preserve the old things, they have no justification, because Christianity, the religion, leaves no place for the ancestral spirits, etc.

535 The old people are troubled by the lack of
178 interest in the old things on the part of the
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541 Tulehu: I went to Tulehu Sunday morning and there was a military band from Ambon playing at the Radja's house. The crowd consisted mainly of children. I understand they are going to other kampongs too (e.g., Amahusu?). I wonder if this is to keep the morale up in this tense situation.

608 578 793 I started going over the notes, and the new principal of the Tulehu school was there. He is from Paperu, Saparua. Paperu is the pela kampong of Tulehu. He says that Paperu is a very strong kampong when it comes to adat, more than most other Saparua kampongs. This is a surprise, because the Amahusu folk say that the gurus from Paperu are the worst attackers of Ambon adat. Maybe they can't get anywhere at home so they go out and try to ruin the adat of other negri! He says they have everything in [535] Paperu: tjakalele at every celebration of a new [801] roof on the baileo or the radja's house, and everything done ritually is done in nine's.

186 142 Gani says it is true that people from Saparua always distinguish themselves in the Ambon Island area as being from Saparua. Outside the Ambon Island area they say they are Ambonese. He thinks there is often a difference in their looks, for example, Soumokil, because of the many Indos there.

674 He says there is practically no theft or murder in Ambon.

773 262 825 Dugong [sea cow] is a woman who was killed by her husband (a long story) and in this story she comes to the beach to suckle her child. This is why the local people never eat dugong.

824 There are no stories of tree descent here.

All noise is forbidden when the cloves start to flower in the groves.

317 563 The only people who make salt from the sea water here are the Butonese.

! [i.e., Gani, the assistant --Analyst]